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NOTES AND DISCUSSIONS

THE TWO RECENSIONS OF *THE CLOUDS*

In the discussions of the two editions of *The Clouds* one piece of evidence seems to have been overlooked. It throws no very startling light upon the question; but, as it does bar theories of a certain type, it seems worth while to present it briefly.

The passage from which I shall start is *Clouds* 537 ff.:

ὥς δὲ σῶφρων ἐστὶ φύσει σκέψασθ'· ἥτις πρῶτα μὲν
οὐδὲν ἦλθε ραψαμένη σκυτίον καθεμμένον
ἐρυθρὸν ἐξ ἄκρου παχύ, τοῖς παιδίοις ἴν' ἢ γέλωσ'
οὐδ' ἔσκωψε τοὺς φαλακρούς, οὐδὲ κόρδαχ' ἐλκυσεν,
οὐδὲ πρεσβύτης ὁ λέγων τῇ βακτηρίᾳ
τύπτει τὸν παρόντ', ἀφανίζων πονηρὰ σκώμματα,
οὐδ' εἰσηῆξε δᾶδας ἔχουσ', οὐδ' ἰὸν ἰὸν βοᾷ,
ἀλλ' αὐτῇ καὶ τοῖς ἔπεσιν πιστεύουσ' ἐλήλυθεν.

The older type of interpretation (cf., for example, Emerson, *Amer. Jour. Philol.*, X [1890], 265 ff.) saw in such passages a serious platform for a crusade to elevate the moral tone of the comic stage. More recently we have come to recognize that we have in them but "saucy wit"—to quote the phrase of Forman's brilliant edition.¹

The fun lies in the fact that Miss Comedy is made to assert very primly that there are certain things she hasn't done, and—by implication—never will do, although both she and the audience well know that nobody of her family ever abstains from them. Even the older interpreters recognized that the things declared taboo are found not only in the other plays of Aristophanes but even in *The Clouds* itself. Forman declares—with slight inexactness—that all of them occur in *The Clouds*.

That is good as far as it goes; but the poet's artifice is more complex. In the first place, it is rather surprising to note how prim Miss Comedy has actually been up to the parabasis. The play opens, to be sure, with the interjection ἰὸν ἰὸν; but this is the sort of thing in which the authority of

¹ Cf. his note to this passage, also his Introduction, §98, and the note thereto.

the manuscripts cannot weigh too heavily, and perhaps we shall find reason to distrust them.¹

At all events, except for this interjection Miss Comedy's conduct up to this point has been scrupulously proper, when judged by the standards here enunciated. At least that is true as far as the text can show, and we may infer that her costume has been correspondingly decorous—that is, that her actors have worn at the most the *φάλλος ἀναδεδεμένον*.

Such good behavior differentiates *The Clouds* from her sister-plays, and gives a certain justification for the primness with which she calls attention to it. Such an avowal of principle would in a serious composition be a pledge of good behavior in the future; in a comedy it is merely serving notice that things are to be different, that Miss Comedy intends to put her foot through each of these commandments.

If we follow her behavior, we will find her violating each commandment, and doing it *in precisely the same order in which she has laid them down*. There is but one exception, and that is because there is a lacuna in our text at the point where her second commandment should be broken. Let us look at the facts. Immediately after the parabasis Socrates and Strepsiades return to the scene—but with a change of costume. Strepsiades, at least, wears unquestionably a *σκυτίον καθειμένον*, for he twice (653, 734) refers to his *πίος*, which was no doubt a particularly fine specimen of the costumer's art *ἐρυθρόν ἐξ ἄκρου παχύ*. The second joke tabooed is that on the bald-heads. It has disappeared from our text, but must have stood either in the choral part after 888, of which only the heading is found in the Ravennas, or in the obviously fragmentary second parabasis (1113–30). Next comes the *kordax*, which is danced (1206–13) by Strepsiades. Then follow in turn the old man who beats his fellow-actor (1297 ff.), the torch (1490), and (1493) the howl *ιοὺ ιοὺ*.

Each joke occurs in its proper place, and only in its place. Correspondence of that sort cannot be accidental. Each violation of the rules is a reference back to the passage in which they were stated, and thereby becomes still funnier. The psychological principle is the same as that which makes it funny for Strepsiades to repeat at 1503 the words used at 225 by Socrates *ἀεροβατῶ καὶ περιφρονῶ τὸν ἥλιον*, or for Xanthias in *The Frogs* to bring in the *θλίβεται* (20) and *πιέζεται* (30), which he had previously been forbidden to use. The only difference is that the device is in our case worked more elaborately to gain cumulative effect.

Now these jokes cannot be separated from the scenes in which they occur. The succession of scenes thus guaranteed taken together with the

¹ No other play of Aristophanes opens with an interjection standing *extra metrum*. The only play with an interjection in the first line is *The Knights*—the play of the year preceding the first *Clouds*. If the first *Clouds* opened with *ιοὺ ιοὺ*, an additional point would be given to this part of the parabasis, and the reading of the manuscripts would be accounted for.

statements of the sixth hypothesis suffices to show that what we have is the second *Clouds* as Aristophanes planned to present it when (sometime after 421 B.C.) he wrote its parabasis. That is a conclusion very different from, e.g., the one reached by Navarre, *Revue des études anciennes*, XIII (1911), 280: *notre texte actuel est, en maints endroits, un amalgame de deux rédactions divergentes, parfois même inconciliables.*

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DESERTIONS FROM THE "TEN THOUSAND"

There is a very considerable numerical difference between the total Greek forces mobilized by Cyrus and those that participated in the battle of Cunaxa. By the time Cyrus reached Celenae nine generals had joined him.¹ The sum of their fourteen contingents of hoplites and light troops amounted to 12,900. But the result of an official enumeration of the combined forces was 13,000 (i. 2. 9). There is no occasion for surprise at this relatively trifling divergence. The sum of fourteen contingents estimated in even hundreds was bound to be different from the number of the assembled troops in two divisions also given in even hundreds.² In the mountains of Cilicia, Menon lost 100 men (i. 2. 25). At Issus 400 Greek deserters from Abrocomas and 700 hoplites under Chirisophus joined Cyrus (i. 4. 3). Thus between Sardis and Issus about 14,000 Greeks were mobilized. On the eve of the battle of Cunaxa there were only 12,900 (i. 7. 10). There is a difference of over 1,000 men. What became of them? Xenophon mentions only two deserters, Zenias and Pasion. These disgruntled generals secured a ship and sailed away from Myriandus (i. 4. 7). Their original contingents aggregated 4,600, but over 2,000 had gone over to Clearchus at Issus. There is no indication that any part of their forces went with them. Indeed, the whole incident is represented as a personal grievance in which the soldiers would have no interest. Neubert (*De Xenophontis Anabasi*) would eliminate both the official enumerations (i. 2. 9; i. 7. 10), and the second mention of Sophaenetes (i. 2. 9) with 1,000 men, as interpolations. This drastic method of disposing of a difficulty has found no favor with editors of the *Anabasis*, and deservedly so.

¹ Sophaenetes is mentioned twice (i. 2. 3 and 9). Various explanations have been offered. There were two generals called Sophaenetes; the second mention is a repetition—the size of the contingent in both cases is the same, 1,000 hoplites; it is a copyist's error for Agias or Cleanor. An account of the expedition was composed by Sophaenetes. It was probably the ultimate source of Diodorus.

² The use of *εἰς*, *ὥς*, and *ἀμφὶ* is a further indication that the numbers are inaccurate.